



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

plained by the favorite formulae of sectionalism and economic interest. Dr. Robinson's maps show that the Connecticut River, in general, watered Federalist territory. But the conservative belt includes most of the hill country on either side (except in Vermont), while some of the most fertile parts of the valley itself were Democratic. Of the mercantile centres, Portsmouth was Democratic, and Salem evenly divided. Old Middlesex County, near Boston, was more staunchly Democratic than any interior or frontier county in New England, while Washington, the newest county, in Maine, remained faithful to Federalism. In general, the Yankee Democracy seems to have been a dissenting and lower-class movement, deriving its earliest strength from Baptists, Methodists, and those whom the Federalists were pleased to term the "dregs of society". The principal local issue of the opposition was that of religious liberty: the destruction of Congregational privilege. A Baptist town was usually a Democratic town. John Leland, Baptist minister of Cheshire, Mass., promoter of the famous mammoth cheese, was a pamphleteer for religious liberty, democracy, and an elective judiciary.

After 1800 Republicanism increased rapidly. Otherwise-minded Rhode Island went Democratic in 1801, for which the Boston *Centinel* called her a "wart on the body of New England". But Vermont quickly followed, and by 1807 the despised Jacobins had captured New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Then came reaction. Jefferson's embargo gave the Federalists a new lease of life, the ground so hardly won was gradually lost, and the function of Jeffersonian Democracy in New England became that of a nationalist check to the separatist tendencies of Federalism. During the war, its vote never fell below forty per cent. of the total cast in the three northern states. As Dr. Robinson concludes, this well-organized minority, "preaching loyalty and nationalism throughout the fourteen years when the opposing party was steadily tending in the opposite direction, was an important factor in the national life".

S. E. MORISON.

Andrew Johnson, Military Governor of Tennessee. By CLIFTON R. HALL, Ph.D., Assistant Professor in History and Politics in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1916. Pp. 234.)

PROFESSOR HALL'S book shows the author to be a somewhat daring person. He deliberately chooses to write on a narrow subject that has already received pretty full treatment in Fertig's monograph on *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee*; and he deliberately chooses to make his theme the "personality" of a politician when we all know that personality as an element of history has no longer any significance except so far as it can be discerned in a man's bank account, investments, and other paraphernalia of the fashionable economic interpretation. Professor Hall does not tell us anything of consequence about Andrew

Johnson's private finances; yet the judicious reader will undoubtedly find much that is well worth while in the book despite this omission. Nor is the duplication of Fertig's study a valid basis for an indictment of the volume; for, as Professor Hall explains, the Johnson Papers have become available since Fertig wrote, and further, as Professor Hall with proper modesty refrains from explaining, there are sundry other quite obvious reasons why the earlier work should not be regarded as the last word on the subject.

It can be said at once with emphasis that the purpose with which Professor Hall wrote his book has been achieved. He has given us a clear, straightforward, agreeably formulated tale of Johnson's personal service in the conquest and reconstruction of Tennessee. The story is one of all the bitterness, hatred, violence, and lawlessness that accompany the disruption of a community by civil war. Johnson was sent to the state in 1862 as military governor, with the rank of brigadier-general. His duty was to effect a reorganization of the state politically, creating a government on the basis of that part of the population, a minority, that remained, or could be induced again to become, loyal to the Union. This duty was not fully accomplished until the winter of 1864-1865, after Johnson had been elected Vice-President of the United States. It was not because of any lack in the military governor of energy, courage, or tenacity, that success in his task was so long delayed. When he assumed office the state was pretty well cleared of Confederate troops. Soon afterward, however, it became the hard-contested battle-ground of great armies, and it remained so, with but short intermissions, till the destruction of Hood's force at Nashville in December, 1864. During these bloody years every attempt at political reorganization was interrupted and thwarted by the fluctuations of the military situation. When at last the way was clear the governor's time was short and his patience and normal respect for constitutional procedure were exhausted. The long-sought loyal government was organized; but the process was one of dictatorial main force.

Professor Hall's narrative throws a clear light on the problems and the difficulties that confronted the military governor, and not less on the qualities displayed by Johnson in dealing with them. No one who tries to understand the career of Johnson as president should fail first to study his administration as governor. At Nashville, as later at Washington, he was a narrow, bitter, fearless, hard-hitting politician, devoted with passionate intensity to the task of restoring as speedily as possible, and without too refined scruple as to the means, the Union as it was before the secession. His methods as military governor made bitter enemies both in Tennessee and at Washington, but, as Professor Hall shows in admirable detail, he never lost the confidence and cordial support of President Lincoln. It is pretty well established that Lincoln's influence had much to do with his nomination as Vice-President. The relation of these facts to the persistence with which Johnson clung to

Lincoln's policy and Lincoln's advisers, even the unspeakable Stanton, needs only to be suggested.

If, as is said on page 27, Johnson in the Senate at Washington "broke lances with Davis [and] Benjamin" on March 2, 1861, it must have been by absent treatment; for Davis and Benjamin were pretty busy just then at some distance from Washington. Again, the author should reconsider the statement (p. 46) that "at Shiloh . . . Grant drove Beauregard's army across the Tennessee river"; as the Union army was between Beauregard and the river, even Grant's tactical genius would have been unequal to the achievement ascribed to it.

Professor Hall's concluding chapter, summing up his views as to the policy and personality of Johnson, is interesting and eminently judicious. I wonder, however, if the author really thinks that Carl Schurz's otherwise illuminating recollection is convincing as to Johnson's drinking (pp. 219-220). The most trustworthy information on this point that has come to my attention is that contained in the recollections of Ben R. Truman, printed in a Los Angeles paper and partly reproduced in the *Century Magazine*. Truman was closely associated with Johnson in Tennessee as a secretary. Professor Hall seems not to have seen Truman's contributions.

WM. A. DUNNING.

Reminiscences of a War-Time Statesman and Diplomat, 1830-1915.

By FREDERICK W. SEWARD, Assistant Secretary of State during the Administrations of Lincoln, Johnson, and Hayes. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1916. Pp. x, 489.)

THE recollections of a lifetime, narrated by an American whose first experience of travel was a three-days' journey by post-coach from Auburn to Albany, N. Y., in 1833, and who was still watching the procession of events in the second year of the present world war, could hardly fail to be interesting, even though of no considerable value as history. Mr. Seward's reminiscences are pleasantly written, touching chiefly the activities of his father as governor, senator, and Secretary of State, with a few references to his own childhood and youth and to certain occurrences after his father's death. The parts dealing with William H. Seward contain little historical material that has not already been published in his so-called *Autobiography* and his *Works*. Such additions as appear here for the first time are gossip details which, at best, contribute a human side-light to the interpretation of matters of more importance, like, for example, the description by the elder Seward of a visit to Louis Napoleon and Eugénie in 1859, when Eugénie's impulsive expression of her sympathy with the American abolitionists was quietly rebuked by her husband as an imprudence. We are treated also to the younger Seward's childish impressions of Andrew Jackson, when taken as a boy to the White House, where the President sat in a study lined with por-